The Time Piece.

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MR. LIVINGSTON'S SPEECH ON THE ALIEN BILL.

[Concluded.]

So obviously do the conſtitutional objections preſent themſelves, that their exiſtence cannot be denied, and two wretched ſubterfuges are reſorted to, to remove them out of ſight. Firſt, it is ſaid, the bill does not contemplate the puniſhment of any crime, & therefore, the proviſions in the conſtitution, relative to criminal proceedings and judiciary powers, do not apply. But have the gentlemen who reaſon thus, read the bill, or is every thing forgotten in our zealous hurry to paſs it—What are the offences upon which it is to operate? Not only the offence of being "ſuſpected to be dangerous to the peace and ſafety of the United States," but alſo that of being "concerned in any treaſonable or ſecret machinations againſt the government thereof." And this we are told is no crime! a treaſonable machination againſt the government, is not the ſubject of criminal juriſprudence!—Good heaven, to what abſurdities does an overzealous attachment to particular meaſures lead us? in order to puniſh a particular act, we are forced to ſay, that treaſon is no crime, and plotting againſt our government is no offence. And to ſupport this fine hypotheſis, we are obliged to plunge deeper in abſurdity and ſay, that as the acts ſpoken of in the bill, are no crimes, ſo the penalty contained in it is no puniſhment, it is only a prevention, that is to ſay, we invite ſtrangers to come among us, we declare ſolemnly, that government ſhall not have the power to prevent them—we entice them over by deluſive proſpects of advantage—in many parts of the union we permit them to hold lands, and give them other advantages, while they are [illegible] which we have promiſed a full participation of all our rights—An unfortunate ſtranger, diſguſted with tyranny at home, thinks he ſhall find freedom here—he accepts your conditions; he puts faith in your promiſes; he reſts his whole property in your hands, he has diſſolved his former connections and made your country his own. But while he is patiently waiting the expiration of the period that is to crown the work, and entitle him to all the rights of a citizen: the tale of a domeſtic ſpy, or the calumny of a ſecret enemy draws on him the ſuſpicions of the Preſident: and, unheard he is ordered to quit the ſpot which he ſelected for his retreat, the country he had choſen for his own, perhaps the family which was his only conſolation in life, he is ordered to retire to a country whoſe government, irritated by his renunciation of its authority, will receive only to puniſh him—and all this we are ſeriouſly told is no puniſhment.

Again we are told, that the conſtitutional compact was made between citizens only; and that therefore, its proviſions were not intended to extend to aliens, and that this act operating only on them, is therefore not forbidden by the conſtitution. But unfortunately, neither common law, common juſtice, nor the practice of any civilized nation will permit this diſtinction: It is an acknowledged principle of the common law, the authority of which is eſtabliſhed here, that alien friends (and permit me to obſerve that they are ſuch only, whom we contemplate by this bill, for we have another before us, to ſend off alien enemies), reſiding among us, are entitled to the protection of our laws. And that during their reſidence they owe a temporary allegiance to our government. If they are accuſed of violating this allegiance, the ſame laws that interpoſe in the caſe of a citizen, muſt determine the truth of the accuſation, and if found guilty they are liable to the ſame puniſhment; this rule is conſonant to the principles of common juſtice; for who would ever reſort to another country, if he alone was marked out as the object of arbitrary power? It is equally unfortunate too for this argument, that the conſtitution expreſsly excludes any idea of this diſtinction, it ſpeaks of all "judicial power"—"all trials for crimes," all "criminal proſecutions"—all "perſons accuſed." No diſtinction between citizen and alien, between high or low; friends or oppoſers of the executive power; republican or royaliſt. All, all are entitled to the ſame equal diſtribution of juſtice, to the ſame humane proviſions to protect their innocence—all are liable to the ſame puniſhment that awaits their guilt. How comes it too if then the conſtitutional proviſions were intended for the ſafety of the citizen only, that our courts uniformly extend them to all, and that we never hear it enquired whether the accuſed is a citizen before we give him a public trial by jury.

So manifeſt do theſe violations of the conſtitution appear to me, ſo futile the arguments in their defence, that they preſs ſeriouſly upon my mind and ſink it even to deſpondency—they have been ſo glaring to my underſtanding that I have felt it my duty to ſpeak of them in a manner that may perhaps give offence to men whom I eſteem and who ſeem to think differently on that ſubject—none, however, I can aſſure them is intended.

I have ſeen meaſures carried in this houſe, which I thought militated againſt the ſpirit of the conſtitution; but never before have I been witneſs to ſo open, ſo wanton, and undiſguiſed an attack. I have now done, ſir, with the act and come to conſider the conſequences of its operation.

One of the moſt ſerious has been anticipated when I deſcribed the blow it would give to the conſtitution of our country, we ſhould cautiouſly beware of the firſt act of violation: habituated to overleap its bounds, we became familiarized to the guilt, and diſregard the danger of a ſecond offence, until proceeding from one unauthoriſed act to another, we at length throw off all the reſtraints which our conſtitution has impoſed: and very ſoon not even the ſemblance of its forms will remain.

But if regardleſs of our duty as citizens, and our ſolemn obligation as repreſentatives, regardleſs of [illegible] of their opinion and that of poſterity; regardleſs of every [illegible], human and divine; if we are ready to violate the conſtitution we have ſworn to defend: will the people ſubmit to our unauthoriſed acts? will the ſtates ſanction our uſurped power? Sir, they ought not to ſubmit: they would deſerve the chains which theſe meaſures are forging for them, if they did not reſiſt. For let no man vainly imagine that the evil is to ſtop here, that a few unprotected aliens only are to be affected by this inquiſitorial power; the ſame arguments, let it be remembered, the ſame arguments which enforce proviſions againſt aliens, apply with equal ſtrength to enacting them in the caſe of citizens; the citizen has no other protection for his perſonal ſecurity that I know, againſt laws like this, than the humane proviſions I have cited from the conſtitution: but all theſe apply in common to the citizen and the ſtranger: "All crimes" are to be tried by jury—"No perſon" ſhall be held to anſwer unleſs on preſentment: in all criminal perſecutions the "accuſed" is to have a public trial: the "accuſed" is to be informed of the nature of the charge: to be confronted with the witneſſes againſt him. May have proceſs to enforce the appearance of thoſe in his favour, and is to be allowed council for his defence—Unleſs, therefore, we can believe that treaſonable machinations and the other offences deſcribed in the bill are not crimes—that an alien is not a perſon—and that one charged with treaſonable practices is not "accuſed"—unleſs we can believe all this, in contradiction to our own underſtandings, to received opinions and the uniform practice of our courts, we muſt allow that all theſe proviſions extend equally to aliens and natives, and that the citizen has no other ſecurity for his perſonal ſafety than is extended to the ſtranger, who is within his gates; if, therefore, this ſecurity is violated in one inſtance, what pledge have we that it will not in the other? The ſame plea of neceſſity will juſtify both: either the offences deſcribed in the act are crimes, or they are not; if they are, then all the humane proviſions of the conſtitution forbid the mode of puniſhing or preventing them equally as relates to aliens and citizens. If they are not crimes, then the citizen has no more ſafety by the Conſtitution than the alien has; for all thoſe proviſions apply only to crimes. So that in either event, the citizen has the ſame reaſon to expect a ſimilar law to the one now before you; which ſubjects his perſon to the uncontrolled deſpotiſm of a ſingle man. You have already been told of plots, conſpiracies, and all the frightful images that were neceſſary to keep up the preſent ſyſtem of terror and alarm were preſented to you: but who were implicated by theſe dark hints—theſe myſterious allutions?—they were our own citizens, ſir, not aliens: if there is then any neceſſity for the ſyſtem now propoſed, it is more neceſſary to be enforced againſt our own citizens, than againſt ſtrangers; and I have no doubt that either in this, or ſome other ſhape they will be attempted. I now aſk, ſir, whether the people of America are prepared for this? Whether they are willing to part with all the means which the wiſdom of their anceſtors diſcovered; and their own caution ſo lately adopted to ſecure the liberty of their perſons? Whether they are ready to ſubmit to impriſonment, or exile, whenever ſuſpicion, calumny or vengeance, ſhall mark them for ruin? Are they baſe enough to be prepared for this? No, ſir, they will, I repeat it, they will reſiſt this tyrannic ſyſtem; the people will oppoſe, the States will not ſubmit to its operation: they ought not to acquieſce, and I pray to God they never may. My opinions, ſir, on this ſubject are explicit, and I wiſh they may be known; they are, that whenever our laws manifeſtly infringe the Conſtitution under which they were made, the people ought not to heſitate which they ſhould obey: if we exceed our powers, we become tyrants, and our acts have no effect. Thus, ſir, one of the firſt effects of meaſures ſuch as this, if they ſhould not be acquieſced in, will be diſaffection among the States, and oppoſition among the people to your government; tumults, violence, and a recurrence to firſt revolutionary principles.

If they are ſubmitted to, the conſequences will be worſe—After ſuch manifeſt violation of the principles of our conſtitution, the form will not long be ſacred: preſently every veſtige of it will be loſt and ſwallowed up in the gulph of deſpotiſm—but ſhould the evil proceed no further than the execution of the preſent law, what a fearful picture will our country preſent? the ſyſtem of eſpionage this eſtabliſhed; the country will ſwarm with informers, ſpies, delators and all that odious reptile tribe that breed in the ſunſhine of deſpotic power, that ſuck the blood of the unfortunate, and [illegible] with a burning wound—the hours of the moſt unſuſpecting confidence; the intimacies of friendſhip, or the receſſes of domeſtic retirement, afford no ſecurity: the companion whom you moſt truſt, the friend in whom you confide, the domeſtic who waits in your chamber, are all tempted to betray your imprudence or guardleſs follies; to miſrepreſent your words; to convey them, diſtorted by calumny, to the ſecret tribunal where jealouſy preſides? where fear officiates as accuſer, and ſuſpicion is the only evidence that is heard.

Theſe, bad as they are, are not the only ill conſequences of theſe meaſures: among them we may reckon the loſs of wealth, of population, and of commerce. Gentlemen who ſupport the bill, ſeemed to be ware of this, when yeſterday they introduced a clauſe to ſecure the property of thoſe who might be ordered to go off; they ſhould have foreſeen the conſequences of the ſteps they have been taking; it is now too late to diſcover that large ſums are drawn from the banks, that a great capital is taken from commerce. It is ridiculous even to obſerve the ſolitude they ſhew to retain the wealth of theſe dangerous men, whoſe perſons they are ſo eager to get rid of; if they wiſh to retain it, it muſt be by giving them ſecurity to their perſons, and aſſuring them that while they reſpect the laws, the laws will protect them from arbitrary power; it muſt be, in ſhort, by rejecting the bill on your table. I might mention many other inferior conſiderations: but I ought, ſir, rather to intreat the pardon of the houſe, for having touched on this; compared to the breach of our conſtitution, and the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power, every other topic is trifling; arguments of convenience ſink into nothing; the preſervation of wealth, the intereſts of commerce, however weighty on other occaſions, here loſe their importance: When the fundamental principles of freedom are in danger, we are tempted to borrow the impreſſive language of a foreign ſpeaker, and exclaim—"Periſh our commerce, let our conſtitution live:"—Periſh our riches, let our freedom live—this, ſir, would be the ſentiment of every American, were the alternative between ſubmiſſion and wealth; but here, ſir, it propoſed to deſtroy our wealth, in order to ruin our commerce. Not in order to preſerve our conſtitution, but to break it—not to ſecure our freedom, but abandon it.

I have now done, ſir, but before I ſit down let me intreat gentlemen ſeriouſly to reflect before they pronounce the deciſive vote, that gives the firſt open ſtab to the principles of our government. Our miſtaken zeal, like that of the patriarch of old, has bound the victim; it lies at the foot of the altar; a ſacrifice of

the first born offspring of freedom is proposed by those who gave it birth. The hand is already raised to strike, and nothing I fear but the voice of Heaven, can arrest the impious blow.

Let not gentlemen flatter themselves that the fervour of the moment can make the people insensible to these aggressions. It is an honest noble warmth, produced by an indignant sense of injury. It will never, I trust, be extinct, while there is a proper cause to excite it: but the people of America, sir, though watchful against foreign aggression are not careless of domestic encroachment; they are as jealous, sir, of their liberties at home, as of the power and prosperity of their country abroad: they will awake to a sense of their danger; do not let us flatter ourselves, then, that these measures will be unobserved or disregarded. Do not let us be told, sir, that we excite a fervour against foreign aggression only to establish tyranny at home; that, like the arch traitor, we cry "Hail Columbia," at the moment we are betraying her to destruction: that we sing out "happy land," when we are plunging it in ruin or disgrace: and that we are absurd enough to call ourselves "free and enlightened," while we advocate principles that would have disgraced the age of Gothic barbarity, and establish a code compared to which the ordeal is wise, and the trial by battle is merciful and just.

By his Excellency JOHN JAY, *Esquire, Governor of the State of New-York.*

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the Government of the United States, to whom the people thereof have committed the exclusive direction of their National affairs, has been pleased to publish for the information of the citizens, divers important and alarming events and transactions; from which it appears,

That there exists well founded apprehensions that the Directors of the French Republic have long formed, and are strenuously pursuing a system of Empire and aggrandizement subversive of the National Rights and Independence not only of the greater part of Europe, but also of the United States; imposing upon them the necessity of partaking in her wars, and of contributing to her expenses:

That the cautious and neutral conduct of the United States, and several other nations have observed towards that Republic, has not been able to shield them from the operation of that system: but on the contrary, that complaints against the United States have been diligently sought and alledged and followed, not by friendly remonstrances and conciliatory overtures, but by unnecessary and unmerited marks of contempt, and by injurious and repeated aggressions:

That the late and present President, both of whom are eminently distinguished by uprightness and sincerity, have at two different periods sent ministers to that Republic on endeavors to preserve peace, and bring all differences to an amicable conclusion, and on reasonable terms.

That nowithstanding the accustomed respect which civilized and contending nations usually pay, as well as owe to each other, and which requires that ambassadors charged with overtures for peace and reconciliation should at least be received and heard, and treated with civility; yet the first of those ministers was refused to be admitted into the presence of the said Directors, and after singular delay and neglect, was dismissed in a manner very disgusting to free independent and friendly people:

That although the respect which every Nation owes to itself strongly opposed the policy of giving to those Directors another opportunity of again treating the United States with similar indignity, yet an earnest and prevailing desire to maintain peace with all nations, and particularly with the French Republic, induced the President to appoint three Envoys Extraordinary, selected from the three great districts of the United States, and send them to France, with ample powers and instructions to treat in a friendly manner with that government, respecting all differences and complaints, and to accommodate and settle them on terms limited only by the honor, independence and essential interests of the United States.

That notwithstanding such strong desires, proved by such unequivocal and uncommon efforts, to preserve and friendship with that Republic, those Envoys were not only refused to be received and accredited, but new difficulties and fresh obstacles to accommodation were interposed, by demands which no nation ought to make, and to which nation ought to submit.

These facts and circumstances strongly indicate designs and systemem hostile to our peace and independence; and in connection with the long continuen, encreasing, and ruinous depredations on our commerce, reason to expect that a more open and decided rupture will take place, the moment that further delay shall cease to be convenient.

And whereas several of the more alarming of these events had not been published, by order of the government of the United States, and in an authantic manner, until after the adjournment of the last session of the legislature of this State; and it has become prudent to take without delay such measures relative to defence, as the present exigency requires, and which cannot be fully and sufficiently provided for by the United States, without the auxiliary efforts of this state.

Wherefore, concurring in opinion with many of our best informed citizens, I think it my duty to give to the Legislature of the State, an early opportunity of taking these important matters into their serious consideration; and thereupon to do whatever may be proper and necessary in such an emergency; with firm reliance on the Divine protection, and with inflexible resolution never to surrender their independence, and pay tribute to any nation whatever.

I do therefore in pursuance of the authority constitutionally vested in me hereby summon and require the members of the Senate, and also the members of the Assembly of this State, to convene and meet in the city hall of the city of Albany, on the ninth day of August next, and this Proclamation (which all the Printers of Gazettees in this State are hereby desired forth to publish in their Papers) is to be considered as due and sufficient notice

Given under my hand and the Privy Seal of the State, at the city of New York, the second day July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, and in the twenty second year of the Independence of the United States of America.

JOHN JAY.

PHILADELPHIA, July 3.

DECLARATION OF WAR.

We are informed, from authority which may be relied on, that *The Faction* had, a few days since, determined on bringing in a *declaration of war against France* to morrow, the anniversary of our national Independence; in the hope that aided by the temporary enthusiasm, they would at length carry their favourite point. The discomfiture they experienced yesterday in their attempt to legalize the capture of *all* French vessels, may, a little longer, pause them in their career to arrive at this *ne plus ultra*.

An article from Augsburgh, in Germany, of the 6th April, says, "The Emperor will not remain an idle spectator of the attack of the Frenchmen on Naples; and this is the probable cause of the movement of the Austrian troops in Italy."

A vessel arrived at New-York from Lisbon on Friday evening last—her letters are to the 12th May. A letter dated at New-York Saturday morning says—the captain of the above vessel reports that lord Jervis was off Lisbon with his whole fleet, and one hundred sail of transports; that Spain was negociating a peace with England; that a courier had arrived at Lisbon from Madrid, on which a packet was immediately dispatched for London.

Letters from Spain inform that the crew of the Spanish privateer which captured the ship Hunter, captain Whitlock, were all imprisoned at Algiers for maltreating captain Whitlock's crew.

The Constellation frigate, captain T——

Letters from Cape Francois of the 17th ult. say that in consequence of the arrival of a flag from admiral Bligh, it was expected that the Mole and Jeremie would be evacuated in a few days; and that on account of the sailing of four frigates for France, an embargo was shortly expected.

The British embarked fifteen thousand troops on the 13th June, from the Mole, on a secret expedition; They sailed up the south side of the Island.

Two corvettes have arrived at Guadaloupe from France and Victor Hughes is confirmed in his government 18 months longer; A very large party is growing in the island against the general.

Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the shade,

July 1—10 o'clock, A. M.	84
Noon	90
Afternoon,	95

STANZAS FROM WALSINGHAM.

Teach me, Love, since thy torments no precepts can cure,
Since reflection and reason deny me relief;
Oh! teach me thy scorn and thy wrongs to endure,
While the balm of resentment shall solace my grief.

Let my sighs never heave, let my tears never flow,
Let the smile of contempt the stern victor defy:
For the tear has a charm which no art can bestow,
And the language of love is the soul-breathing sigh.

Let me shun the proud despot who claims my care,
Lest the torture I suffer should feed her disdain;
For my tyrant delight in the pang of despair,
And the sound which she loves is the deep groan of pain.

I will traverse the desert, climb mountains untrod,
Where reflection shall saddlen with legions of woe:
I will cool my scorch'd brain on the dew-moisten'd sod,
While around my torn bosom the loud tempest blows.

Yet the mild breath of morning shall bid the storm fly,
And the Sun's growing wreath shall encircle the sleep:
But my bosom shall never forget the deep sigh,
Nor my eyes lose the vision that prompts them to weep!

Then, O where shall I wander, in search of repose,
Where explore that oblivion which calms the wrung breast,
Since the lover finds sorrow wherever he goes,
And the world has for passion no pillow of rest?

To the grave! where the tyrant is rob'd of his pow'r,
Where complainings shall cease, for no anguish is there;
While the breathing destroyer shall live a short hour,
Till the pang of remorse ends the reign of despair.

THE TIME PIECE.

FRIDAY, JULY 6.

To wipe away the foul imputation attempted to be fastened on him by a writer in the Commercial Advertiser, John D. Burk could not content himself with the consciousness of innocence, contempt would do on such occasion, and he has been obliged to descend to the formality of proof. He trusts the subjoined affidavits, with many others he can produce, will establish beyond dispute, that this base calumniator, who has concealed this important information for near a month, who had not spirit to resent such injurious epithets as he makes me utter at the moment, who, like a Demon, has been so long darkly brooding over this horrid information, has been instigated to this base charge against my reputation and my life. The public will not be a little astonished when they are told, that this very delator and detracter, who appears so tremblingly alive to patriotism, has been heard to say, the conduct of our Executive was mad and wicked beyond example, and damned it for the misfortunes brought on this country. Perhaps his *conversion* and this *calumny* are to be *dated from the same hour*. Perhaps this calumny was to be the expiatory introduction among the friends of order. This base charge is a proof, among many others, that Mr. Burk, has not lived in vain; he is dangerous to a few wicked partizans, who with him put out of the way; but wanting the courage to meet him as a gentleman, they are constrained to content themselves with report and insinuation, with now and then the fallhood of some hired spy. As to the extract from Junius, Mr. Burk is not answerable for them; if he thought them libellous he would not publish them; if he, for one moment imagined their contents would cause pain to the breast of one good man, he had not published them.

Extract from the piece signed Themistocles, above alluded to.

"Some time in the month of June, Dr. James Smith called at my house, and on his leaving it, took my hat and left his in the place of it; the next day I was directed to call at John D. Burk's printing office, as the most likely place to find him; I went to the office accordingly, and whilst there, a person called and informed Mr. Burk that a certain bookseller in this city had received a letter from his friend in Virginia, stating that the French had effected their landing in Ireland. Burk, with marks of much approbation, exclaimed, that he believed it was true, and if so that he would not give a damn for the Federal villains in this country—that he believed the French would come here—and he wished to God they would, when every scoundrel in favour of this government would be put to the guillotine—that they had hinted that he would be sent away as an alien—but then he would let them know who was the strongest party.

City of New York ss.

John D. Burk, being sworn saith, that the conversation and facts alluded to in the above piece, is as follows, and not otherwise: That he, the said John D. Burk did himself bring to the office, a report of a successful invasion of Ireland by France; that his remarks on the said report were, that he hoped it to be true; as in such case there would be no necessity to put in force the alien or sedition bill against him; and, that the deponent thought such an event would be useful to America, as it would weaken a certain influence, to which he believed all the embarrassments of America were ascribable. The deponent totally denies, that he ever in the said conversation made use of the epithets of Federal villains &c. or ever said that he believed or wished the French would come here. And the deponent further saith, that he, neither directly or indirectly, ever at the conversation aforesaid, uttered a sentiment so sanguinary of the purport set forth in the above piece. And the deponent further saith, that so far from his expressing a wish, that the French would come here, in a hostile manner, it is the farthest from his thoughts to indulge ons so unfavourable to the peace and happiness of America.

JOHN D. BURK.

Sworn this 5th July, 1798,
Before THOMAS SMITH, Notary Public.

City of New York. ss.

William F. Stewart, of the city of New York, Printer, and in the office of the Time Piece, being sworn, saith, that he was present at the conversation between John D. Burk, and in the office of the Time Piece, in the month of June last; the subject of which conversation was, the invasion of Ireland by the French, that Mr. Burk mentioned that he had heard that the French had effected a landing in Ireland, and that Mr. Burk was glad of it, and that now if the alien and sedition bills did pass, there would be no necessity to put it in force against him, for he would go out of the country of his own accord. And the deponent further saith, that he never, since he has

been in the said office, heard the said John D. Burk declare that it was his wish that the French should effect a landing in America. And that in an after conversation in the said office, the deponent heard the said John D. Burk, express sentiments directly opposed to these contained in the above piece.

WILLIAM F. STEWART.

Sworn this 5th July, 1798.

Before THOMAS SMITH, Notary Public.

At a large and respectable meeting of United Irishmen, to celebrate the Anniversary of American independence, at James Ferrell's, James street, Citizen *John D. Burk*, in the chair, the following toasts were given:

1. The Day: may Americans never be ashamed to celebrate this glorious anniversary, unless they permit their constitution to be *violated*.

2. The Constitution—*Esto perpetua.*

3. The Revolution; may the recollection that it originated in the violation of *one* charter—Deter ambition from violating *another*.

4. The Alien Bill. It must have been intended to operate only against royalists and *artfloc it*.

5. The Swinish Multitude; they have survived Edmund Burk.

6. A speedy adjustment of the existing disputes between the Republics of France and America on fair and honorable *Terms*.

7. A *Fourth* and *Fourteenth* of July to Ireland. We will die to atchieve them.

8. Roman Hospitality. We have sought an asylum among the household Gods of America; she must not dishonour herself by refusing it.

9. Liberty and Equality, opposed to *Feudality* and *Orders*.

10. The American, French, Batavian, Helvetic Cisalpine, Roman, and Ligurian Republics—A place reserved in the Constellation for *Ireland*.

11. The citizen Soldiers of America; they want not the aid of a standing army.

12. American Independence—Irishmen shed their blood to *atchieve* it; they will die, if necessary, to *defend* it.

Volunteers,

A Bull—Our fair countrywomen of *all* nations; the romantic return of Irishmen is at their service.

Montgomery; his death is, at once, an example to Ireland and America.

We have long thought that the world are very much mistaken in their idea and distinction of libels. It has been hitherto generally understood, that there are no other libels but those against magistrates, and those against private men: now to us there seems to be a third sort of libels, full as destructive as any of the former can possibly be, we mean libels against the people. It was otherwise at Athens and Rome; where though particular men, and even great men, were often treated with much freedom and severity, when they deserved it; yet the people, the body of the people, were spoken of with the utmost regard and reverence: the sacred privileges of the people, the inviolable majesty of the people, and the unappealable judgment of the people, were phrases common in those wise, great, and free cities. Other modes of speech are since grown fashionable, and popular madness is now almost proverbial: but this madness of theirs, whenever it happens, is derived from external causes. Oppression, they say, will make a wise man mad: and delusion has not less force; but where there are neither oppression nor impostors, the judgment of the people in the business of property, the preservation of which is the principal business of government, does rarely err. Perhaps they are destitute of grimace, mystery, reserve, and other accomplishments of courtiers; but as these are only masks to conceal the absence of honesty and sense, the people, who possess as they do the substance, have reason to despise such insipid and contemptible shadows.

Machiavel, in the chapter where he proves that a multitude is wiser and more constant than a prince, complains, that the credit which the people should be in declines daily: For, says he, every man has liberty to speak what he pleases against them, but against a prince no man can talk without a thousand apprehensions and dangers. We have indeed often wondered, that the inveighing against the interest of the people, and calling their liberties in question, as has been and is commonly done amongst us by old knaves and young fools, has never been made an express crime.

We must own, we know not what treason is, if sapping and betraying the liberties of a people be not treason, in the eternal and orignal nature of things. Let it be remembered for whose sake government is, or could be, appointed; then let it be considered who are more to be regarded, the governors or the governed; they indeed owe one another mutual duties; but if there be any transgressions committed, the side that is most obliged ought doubtless to bear the most; and yet it is so far otherwise, that almost all over the earth, the people, for one injury that they do their governors, receive ten thousand from them: nay, in some countries, it is made death and damnation, not to bear all the oppressions and cruelties which men, made wanton by power, inflict upon those that gave it them.

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay;
Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.

Every one will allow that freedom of thought ought not, and cannot be restrained, however freedom of speech may be so. The judge observed very justly to a satirical author, that the law forbad him to call him rogue. "I know it, my lord," replied as justly the arch wag. "but the law does not forbid my thinking your lordship one."

The passions are not to be extinguished but with life; To forbid, therefore, people to speak, is to forbid them to feel.—The more men express of their hate and resentment, perhaps the less they retain; and sometimes they vent the whole that way; but these passions, where they are smothered, will be apt to fester, to grow venomous, and to discharge themselves by a more dangerous organ than the mouth; even by an armed and vindictive hand. Less dangerous is a railing mouth than an heart filled with bitterness and curses; and more terrible to a prince ought to be the secret execrations of his people than their open revilings, or than even the assaults of his enemies. In truth, where no liberty is allowed to speak of governors, besides that of praising them, their praises will be little regarded. Their tenderness and aversion to have their conduct examined will be apt to prompt people to think their conduct guilty or weak; to suspect their management and designs to be worse than perhaps they are; and to become turbulent and seditious, rather than be forced to be silent.

The sanctuary of honour, reputation, and virtue, seems to be placed in republics, and in those states where a man may with safety pronounce the word, country. At Rome, Athens, and Sparta honour was the only reward for the most signal services. A crown of oak-leaves, or laurel, a statue, an inscription, was an immense return for a battle won, or a city taken.

There, a man that had performed a noble action, thought himself sufficiently recompensed in the action itself. He could not see one of his countrymen, without feeling the inward satisfaction of knowing himself his benefactor: he reckoned the number of his services by that of his fellow citizens. Any man is capable of doing a piece of service to another man; but it is somewhat divine to contribute to the happiness of a whole society.

As certainly and suddenly as a good state of health dispels the peevishness and peril of sickness, does a good state of government the animosity and danger of parties.

Where an army subsists upon the pay or riches of a single person, or of a nobility, that army is always monarchical. Where an army subsists not by the riches of a single person, nor of a nobility, that army is always popular.

What party soever shall hinder the people from the exercise of the power devolved upon them, shall be certainly ruined; who or what party soever shall introduce the people into the due and orderly exercise of the power devolved upon them, shall be forthwith secure and famous for ever.

We are possessed of important secret information, dreadful to a few traitors, and highly useful to the good people of America; certain considerations prevent us from giving it immediate publicity. We pledge ourselves it shall appear.

The British are probably expelled from, e'er this, all their possessions in St. Domingo.

Our government has shed tears in abundance over the fate of the Helvetic; the present government of Switzerland will not thank us for this sympathy.

A few exotics entertained themselves yesterday, in bawling out "God save the King," and ridiculing the sacred festival of Liberty, on the Fourth. The people chastised them.

If a dozen Republicans, as they are satyrically called in the Commercial Advertiser, attacked one gentleman with a cockade, Why does not the gentleman give his name? 'Tis no reproach to be attacked by disperadoes, and by odds. Neither is it a reproach to be a republican?

FOR SALE,

A HOUSE AND LOT,

No. 218, Water street, nearly opposite Crane wharf,

A Compleat well finished three story brick house; it is newly painted, in thorough repair, and a most excellent stand for mercantile business. For particulars apply to Mr. Abraham Skinner, No. 37, Pine street, the subscriber on the premises, or at No. 4, Ferry street.

FRANCES ROORBACH,

Executrix to the estate of

ARTHUR HELME, deceased.

The subscriber earnestly solicites all persons indebted to the estate of the said Arthur Helme, to make immediate payment, and those who have any demands to present their account for settlement.

July 4th, 1798. tf.

Twenty Dollars Reward.

WILL be given at No. 81, Warren street, for information and proof of the young man with a green badge in his hat, who attacked the cockade and eagle of a citizen near Snow's tavern, a little past noon, on the 4th of July, and who escaped detection and chastisement by the lightness of his heels.

July 6.

State of New-York, ss.

WHEREAS Richard Ferris, of the city of New York, house carpenter, as well for the better securing of Caleb Brush, of the same place, mariner, the payment of the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, which he owes to him in the manner and form hereinafter mentioned; in consideration of the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, lawful money of New York, in hand paid by the said Caleb Brush to the said Richard Ferris, did by a certain indenture of mortgage, bearing date the twenty third day of May, in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven, duly executed and delivered, grant, bargain and sell unto the said Caleb Brush, his executors, and administrators and assigns, the full term of years yet to come and unexpired of and in the premises hereinafter mentioned, as specified in a certain lease given to the said Richard Ferris, and referred to in the said indenture of mortgage, to wit: of all that certain lot of ground, together with the building thereon erected, with the appurtenances, lying and being in the city of New-York, in the seventh ward, in a certain street called Pump street, and known and distinguished by lot number two, bounded southerly in front, on said Pump street, twenty five feet, westerly by lot number three fifty feet, northerly, in the rear, by ground belonging to John Quackenbush, twenty five feet, easterly by lot number one fifty feet, together with all and singular the rights, members and appurtenances whatsoever, to have and to hold the said lot of ground, and the buildings thereon erected, or to be erected, with the appurtenances, unto the said Caleb Brush, his executors, administrators and assigns, for and during the residue and remainder of the term yet to come and unexpired in the said lease; subject, nevertheless, to the payment and performance of the rents and covenants therein mentioned; upon condition, nevertheless, that if the said Richard Ferris, his executors or administrators should well and truly pay, or cause to be paid, unto the said Caleb Brush, his executors, administrators or assigns, the just sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, current money aforesaid, agreeable to the condition of a certain bond or obligation, bearing even date with the said indenture, and therein mentioned, and in pursuance of three several notes of hand given to the said Caleb Brush by the said Richard Ferris payable in quarterly payments, each of which said notes being for the sum of twenty three pounds six shillings and eight pence, and together with the said bond making the said sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, and referred to in the said mortgage, without any fraud, deduction or delay, according to the tenor of the same, then the said indenture to be void; and the said Richard Ferris bound himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to pay to the said Caleb Brush, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, the said sum of money above mentioned, on the days and in manner and form mentioned in the said several obligations, limitted and expressed for the payment thereof, and if default should happen to be made in the payment of the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, or any part thereof, when the same ought to have been paid, that then and in such case it should be lawful for the said Caleb Brush, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, and they are thereby fully authorised and empowered to expose the said premises with the appurtenances, at public auction or vendue, and to sell and dispose thereof, to the highest bidder, pursuant to the statute in such case made and provided, and out of the monies arising from the sale thereof, to retain and keep the said sums of money, or so much thereof as shall be then due and unpaid, together with all costs, charges and expences occasioned by such default, which said sale so to be made is thereby ratified and confirmed, as by the said mortgage, or the registry thereof in the office of the clerk of the city and county of New-York, in Lib. No 8, of register of mortgages, page 446, the 22d day of June, 1797, reference being thereunto had, may more fully appear; and whereas default has been made in the payment of the said sum of one hundred and twenty pounds, or some part thereof, and the same still remains due and unpaid. *Now therefore*, in pursuance of the act of the legislature of the state of New-York, in such case made and provided, NOTICE is hereby given to the said Richard Ferris, and all others whom it may, or can in any wise concern, that the said mortgaged premises will be sold at public auction or vendue, at the Tontine Coffee house, in the city of New York, on Monday the thirty day of December, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon of that day, for the payment and satisfaction of the monies due on the said mortgage and obligation, pursuant to the power contained in the same. Date this twenty seventh day of June, 1798.

CALEB BRUSH.

N. B. There is twelve years from the first day of May last yet to to come and unexpired of the term in the above described premises.

June 29.

Democratic Notice.

THE members are requested to attend punctually on Wednesday evening, at Citizen Snow's (late Mrs. Amery's) Broadway, at 7 o'clock.

By Order,

July 11. Wm. DEGROVE, Secretary.

NOTICE.

THE Copartnerſhip of MATTHEW L. DAVIS, and CO, was diſſolved, on the 13th inſt. by mutual conſent; all perſons indebted to them, for ſubſcriptions to the Time Piece, are requeſted to make payment to JOHN D. BURKE, who is duly authoriſed to collect the ſame; and thoſe indebted for Adverſiſements or Handbills will pleaſe diſcharge their accounts at the office of the ſubſcriber. If there are any demands againſt the late firm, it is requeſted the accounts will be immediately preſented, and they will be paid on ſight. MAT. L. DAVIS.

June 22.

WHEREAS WILLIAM S. SMITH, of the town of Eaſt Cheſter, in the county of Weſt Cheſter, and ſtate of New York, gentleman, being indebted to the ſubſcriber, Nickll Floyd, of the city of New York, merchant, by bond bearing date the ſixth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety ſeven, in the penal ſum of one thouſand pounds, conditioned for the payment of ſeven hundred and forty three pounds five ſhillings and ten pence, current money of the ſtate of New York, on or before the twenty fifth day of November next enſuing the date thereof; the ſaid William S. Smith, for the better ſecuring the payment thereof, as aforeſaid, to the ſaid Nicoll Floyd, his executors adminiſtrators or aſſigns, according to the condition of the ſaid bond or obligation, did, on the ſaid ſixth day of March, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety ſeven, mortgage to the ſaid Nicoll Floyd, his heirs and aſſigns, all that certain tract or four lots of ground, ſituate, lying and being in the ſixth ward of the city of New York, adjoining each other, and containing, each of them, in breadth, in front and rear, twenty five feet, and in length one hundred feet; bounded ſouth weſterly, in front by Barclay ſtreet, formerly Anthony ſtreet; north eaſterly, in the rear by ground now or late of Anthony Barclay; ſouth eaſterly, by the ground of the ſaid Anthony Barclay; north weſterly, by ground now or late of Peter Bertine, the ſaid Anthony Barclay, and the eſtate of Lewis Nichols (as the ſame are diſtinguiſhed in a map annexed to a conveyance from Mary Barclay and Leonard Leſpenard, executors of Henry Barclay, deceaſed, to Egbert Benſon and others, by Lots No. thirty four, thirty five, thirty ſix, and thirty ſeven); Together with all and ſingular the tenements, hereditaments, priviledges, commodities and appurtenances to the ſame belonging or in any wiſe appertaining; And whereas the condition of the ſaid bond has not been performed, Notice is, therefore, hereby given, to all whom it may concern, that by virtue of a power contained in the ſaid mortgage, and purſuant to the act in ſuch caſe made and provided, the above deſcribed premiſes will be ſold at the Tontine Coffee Houſe, in the city of New York, on Monday, the ninth day of July next, at eleven of the clock in the forenoon of that day. Dated this fourth day of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety eight.

January 1 NICOLL FLOYD

REFINED SUGAR.

LOAF and Lump Sugar, for ſale at the Sugar Houſe, in Liberty (late Crown) ſtreet. Orders left at the Sugar Houſe, or with the ſubſcriber, No. 170 Front Street, will be immediately attended to. Where alſo may be had a few Bags of India Sugar.

March 26. DAVID GELSTON.

A handſome Country Houſe.

TO LET,

And Poſſeſſion given on the 1ſt May.

THAT elegantly ſituated HOUSE on Long-Iſland, directly oppoſite Corlaer's Hook, containing 9 rooms and 6 fire places and a Garden if required. The ſituation is ſo agreeable that it requires no farther recommendation. For terms apply to

FRANCIS TITUS,
Near the premiſes.

Buſhwick, April 16.

HATS.

PETER VANDERHOEF, Jun. HATTER,
No. 49, Water-ſtreet, near Coenties-Slip,

INFORMS his friends and cuſtomers that he manufactures, and has conſtantly in readineſs for ſale upon the loweſt terms,

MEN & BOYS AMERICAN HATS.

OF every quality—*Alſo*, Ladies and childrens Engliſh imported Hats, to be ſold by the ſingle hat, dozen, or larger quantity as may beſt ſuit the purchaſer.—A generous allowance will be made to thoſe who purchaſe by the quantity, to ſell again.

April, 26. tf.

PAPER MAKERS.

Wanted,

TWO or three journeymen paper makers, who are compleatly maſters of their buſineſs, and whoſe characters are good. Conſtant employment will be given, and their wages paid regular. They muſt agree for a ſtated term For further particulars, apply at the Office of the TimePiece.

Printing Ink Manufactory.

JOHN BOWEN,

ACQUAINTS the Printers in the United States, that he has eſtabliſhed an Ink Manufactory in New-York, and will be able to furniſh kegs of any ſize on reaſonable terms for caſh, equal to any imported, delivered on board of any veſſel, or left at any other place in this city

J. Bowen is lately arrived from London, where he ſupplied ſome of the moſt reſpectable printing houſes with ink of his manufacture, which was much approved of. Orders fulfilled with the utmoſt attention—to be paid for on delivery. Letters poſt paid, put addreſſed to 340 Pearl ſtreet, duly attended to.

The printers of papers in the different commercial towns, are requeſted to give this anvertiſement a place for the better encouragement of the undertaking.

SASHES FOR SALE.

MATTHEW HAWKINS, Saſh-Maker and Glazier No. 9 George Street, near the ſhiplards, has on hand and for ſale, a large quantity of 24 light ſaſhes, 8 by 6, which he will ſell painted and Glazed at 8d. per. light 24 light ditto. 7 by 9, at 12d. zes, has alſo on hand, a large ſtock of various other ſiHe ſuch as 10 by 8, 11 by 9, 12 by 10, 14 by 10, 15 by 11, &c.—Which will be ſold on low terms. Show-windows, Sliding-glaſs, Caſes for Stores, executed at the above place with accuracy and diſpatch.

N. B. Orders as uſual, for town or country, performed at the ſhorteſt notice.

March 26. t. f.

As ſoon as a ſufficient number of Subſcribers can be procured, will be publiſhed

AN EPIC POEM,
IN TWELVE BOOKS,
ENTITLED

THE COLUMBIAD;

CONTAINING.

A HISTORY of America, from its earlieſt ſettlement to the acknowledgment of her Independence, with the principal battles, ſieges, &c. which led to that event. The author has procured notes illuſtrating hiſtoric and geographic difficulties, from men of the firſt ability in the union; & means, if the profits will permit, to prefix an elegant Copperplate to each book. The whole work will be publiſhed in *Twelve Numbers*, each of which will be delivered for 4s.

It will be printed on the fineſt paper, illuſtrated by the moſt learned Annotations, and embelliſhed by the beſt plates, which can be procured.

Subſcriptions will be taken in at the Offices of the Minerva, Argus, and Time-Piece, New-York; Aurora, and M. Carey's book-ſtore, Philadelphia; and at the Chronicle and Mercury offices, Boſton; and all the other Book-ſtores and Printing-offices on the continent.

October 9th, —tf 1w

The Portrait of General Waſhington,

And other pieces of art, will continue to be ſhewn for 14 days longer, from 10 o'clock in the morning until 7 in the evening, and every pleaſant evening until 10 o'clock.

IT is admitted univerſally, that Waſhington's Portrait is a perfect likeneſs, at this time, of this moſt celebrated patriot and virtuous citizen—As a portrait, it is ſaid to be one of the moſt perfect and elegant paintings that this country or age has produced; it is as large as life; he is repreſented as Preſident of the United States, giving his farewell addreſs to Congreſs. It was painted in 1796, at the period of his retirement from public life—the celebrated G. Stuart, a native of America, was the painter.

13 Very elegant original paintings by the celebrated Mr. Winſtanley, one of which is a ſuperb painting, 16 by 10 feet, of the nativity or birth of Chriſt; other Hiſtorical ſubjects, and ſome of the fineſt Landſcapes ever executed in America.

Alſo, 10 paintings of portraits of celebrated perſonages in the French Revolution, moſt of which have been made ſacifices; of the 10, the Marquis De La Fayette and Tom Paine are yet in exiſtence. Alſo, the Grand Muſical clock.

Alſo, a collection of very fine print's, ſome very elegant Porcelain Mantle piece ornaments, a number of well preſerved American Birds, ſome inſects, and a pair of ſecond hand 17 inch Senexes Globes. Many of the above articles are for ſale; the 13 paintings laſt added to the collection are to be diſpoſed of, the plan of which may be ſeen at the exhibition room.

This is doubtleſs the moſt magnificent collection of al fine paintings, every exhibited in this city; thoſe who wiſh to gratify themſelves muſt embrace the preſent opportunity, or they will miſs the moſt pleaſing and gratifying amuſements that this city has ever been in poſſeſſion of.

Admittance 2 Shillings.

Thoſe who have already ſeen the Waſhington, will be requeſted to pay again for the additions, after which, payment will not be expected for the ſame viſitors who introduce others.

N. B. The place of a amuſement is the New Tontine City Hotel indway.

May 28. tf.

FRESH GARDEN SEEDS.

A General aſſortment of ſeeds for ſale by the ſubſcriber, a Brooklyn, viz. Beans, peas, cabbage, carrot, beet, parſnip, dive, cellary, perſely, raciſh, turnip, lettice, and onion ſeeds

JOHN HASTINGS,

Gardener, oppoſite to the methodiſt church, Brooklyn, where may likewiſe be had, fruit and foreſt trees.

Orders left at the office of the Time Piece will be attended to.

Sept. 15. t f

AN APPEAL
TO
IMPARTIAL POSTERITY.

BY MADAME ROLAND,
Wife of the Miniſter in the Interior of France.

CONDITIONS.

Theſe ſcarce and very valuable Hiſtorical Memoirs, which ran through two London editions in a few months, will be compriſed in two volumes, octavo, of 400 pages each.

They will be printed on fine paper and a new type, and delivered to ſubſcribers, neatly boundand lettered, at one dollar and fifty cents per volume; one third of the ſubſcription money to be paid on delivery of the firſt volume, the remainder when the work is completed.

To printers, bookſellers and others, who acquire ſubſcriptions, the uſual allowance will be made.

☞ Subſcriptions are taken at the Reading Room, No. 149, Water ſtreet, the Printing Office, No. 149, Pearl ſtreet, and the different Bookſtores in this City.

As ſoon as a ſufficient number of Subſcribers are obtai d. the Work will be put to preſs, and compleated with the utmoſt diſpatch. February 1. tf.

THE
INTERESTING TRAVELS
OF
JOHN LEDYARD,
WITH A SUMMARY OF HIS LIFE,

Are now in the hands of the Printer; and the following Propoſals are offered to the Public for Printing the ſame by Subſcription.

CONDITIONS.

I. It ſhall be printed on fine paper, with a new type ornamented with a full length portrait of the Author, in the attitude of taking leave, on his departure for Africa.

II. It will be publiſhed in a large octavo form, handſomely bound and lettered—calculated to contain between four and five hundredpages, making an elegant library volume.

III. The price to ſubſcribers will be two dollars a volume; one half the money to be paid at the time of ſubſcribing and the remainder on delivery of the Work.

THE ſolicitude expreſſed by the public for this long expected Work; the character of the Author, and the celebrity of the travels, render unneceſſary, to moſt Americans, encomiums which are ordinarily uſed in recommending books to public patronage. To thoſe who have not heard of Mr. John Ledyard and his travels, the following character, extracted from a Work publiſhed by the London African Society, may not be amiſs:

"FORCIBLY impreſſed by the objects which he ſaw, and naturally led to compare them with thoſe which the other regions of the globe had preſented to his view, he deſcribes with the energy of an original obſerver, and exhibits in his narrative the varied effects of ſimilarity and contraſt.

—Having traverſed the world by water, in his great attempt to do the ſame by land he had nearly penetrated to the Pacific ocean, when he was ſeized upon, and baniſhed from her territories by the empreſs of Ruſſia —

"On his arrival in England, Sir Joſeph Banks told him, knowing his diſpoſition, that he believed he could recommend him to an adventure almoſt as perilous as the one from which he had returned; and then communicated to him the wiſhes of the aſſociation for diſcovering the inland countries of Africa.

"Ledyard replied, that he had always determined to traverſe the continent of Africa as ſoon as he had explored the interior of North America; and as Sir Joſeph had offered him a letter of introduction, he came directly to the writer of theſe memoirs. I ſpread the map of Africa before him, and tracing a line from Cairo to Sennar, and from thence weſtward, in the latitude and ſuppoſed direction of the Niger, I told him that was the route by which it was deſired that Africa might, if poſſible, be explored. I aſked him when he would ſet out—"*To-morrow morning*," was his anſwer: But before I had learned from the note the name and buſineſs of my viſitor, I was ſtruck with the manlineſs of his perſon, the breadth of his cheſt, the openeſs of his countenance, and the inquietude of his eye.

"His perſon was remarkably expreſſive of activity and ſtrength; his manners, though unpoliſhed, were neither uncivil or unpleaſing: Little attentive to difference of rank, he ſeemed to conſider all men as his equals, and as ſuch he reſpected them: His genius, though irregular, was original and comprehenſive;—ardent in his wiſhes, yet calm in his deliberations; daring in his purpoſes, but guarded in his meaſures; impatient of controul, yet capable of ſtrong endurance; adventrous beyond the conception of ordinary men, yet wary, and conſiderate, and attentive to all precautions; he appeared to be formed by nature for atchievements of hardihood and peril.

March 16. tf.